

V_≥2 in Basque

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1 Introduction

This article focuses on verb second (V2)-like effects in Basque. V2 refers to word order patterns found in Germanic, Breton and a handful other languages, where the tense-bearing verb obligatorily appears as the second constituent from the left edge of the clause. We illustrate this pattern in the standard German example in (1a) where the inflected verb, *liest*, appears as the second constituent, to the right of *heute abend*, ‘tonight’. Word orders in which *liest* appears later in the sentence or sentence initially are poor, as illustrated in (1b,c).

- (1) a. Heute abend **liest** Niko ein neues Globi-Buch. (German, Leu 2010)
today evening reads Niko a new Globi-book
‘Tonight Niko reads a new globi Book.’
b. *Heute abend Niko **liest** ein neues Globi-Buch.
today evening Niko reads a new Globi-book
c. ***Liest** heute abend Niko ein neues Globi-Buch.
reads today evening Niko a new Globi-book

The standard contemporary view of V2, which is descended in spirit from den Besten’s early work on the topic (1983), takes V2 effects to reflect the interaction of two features: an EPP feature on a high C-field head hosting exactly one XP; and an [*u*V] feature on this same head which attracts the inflected verb (Chomsky 2000, Roberts 2004, Holmberg to appear, Leu 2010, cf. den Besten 1983). We call this the *EPP+V-raising* approach and summarize it in (2). With the further assumptions that this head takes its specifier to its left, these two features together correctly expresses the generalization that the inflected verb must appear in exactly second position, that is, with exactly one phrasal constituent to its left.

(2) The EPP+V-raising approach

[_{CP} XP [_C V+C_[*u*V, EPP] [...<V><XP>]]]

As Holmberg (to appear) notes, the two movement steps in (2) are, in principle, independent properties. Nothing central to current approaches to EPP movement, the left periphery, head movement generally or T-to-C movement in particular indicates that they should co-occur. The hypothesis that [EPP] and [*u*V] features on C vary independently predicts a 4-way typology across languages: (i) a language with both of these features will be a V2 language; (ii) a language with neither of these properties will have neither generalized EPP movement to C nor obligatory V movement to C as instantiated in English among many other languages; (iii) varieties with [*u*V] on C but not [EPP] will be instantiated by some verb-initial languages where verb raising is produced by head-movement to C; (iv) finally, a language with EPP movement to the left periphery, but no verb movement to C will be a “V_≥2” language, where the verb will never be able to appear in first position, and absence of obligatory V-to-C movement will mean that the verb need not appear in second position, but rather may allow additional material to intervene between it and the left edge of the clause. As far as we are aware, no published literature has described a language instantiating this possibility, which is predicted by the standard approach to V2 phenomena outlined above. The goal of this paper is to demonstrate that Basque is of this fourth type, and as such bears out a typological prediction of the approach to V2 illustrated in (2). We summarize this typology in Table 1.

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	+EPP	-EPP
+ [uV]	V2 languages	V-initial languages
- [uV]	“V \geq 2” (Basque)	English, French, Mandarin etc.

Table 1: Featural content of “C” relevant for V2 effects

The discussion is organized as follows. Part two of this paper describes V \geq 2 patterns in Basque and compares them to canonical V2 effects in Germanic. In part three, we present an analysis of V \geq 2 adapting a Rizian analysis of the left periphery in Basque by Ortiz de Urbina (1999). Part four summarizes the discussion.

2 V \geq 2 patterns in Basque

Similarities between constraints on the placement of the finite verb in Basque and Germanic/Breton have been mentioned in previous literature (Ortiz de Urbina 1994, 1995, Elordieta and Joutiteau 2010), however these similarities have not been thoroughly described anywhere as far as we know. In the discussion below, we review ways that constraints on word order in Basque compare to those in V2 patterns in Germanic and propose that the two phenomena should be explained in similar terms.

2.1 Exactly one constituent to the left of V

In the general case, Germanic languages excluding English have the property that root clauses require exactly one constituent to precede the finite verb as in (1). There are nevertheless several well-described exceptions to this pattern. First and most importantly, the V2 constraint does not apply to all root clause types. Examples (3) and (4), below show that V1 is the unmarked way of forming *yes/no* questions in Germanic as well as imperatives (Holmberg to appear).

- (3) Kennst du das Land? (German) (4) Var du tyst! (Swedish, Holmberg, to appear)
 Know-2SG you that country. be you quiet
 ‘Do you know that country?’ ‘You be quiet!’

A second exception involves topics. As shown in (5), hanging topics separated intonationally from the following clause do not count as first position elements and may appear to the left of a *bona fide* first position constituent.

- (5) Peter, ich werde ihn Morgen sehen. (German)
 Peter, I will him tomorrow see.
 ‘As for Peter, I’ll see him tomorrow.’
 (Holmberg to appear)

Basque is like these Germanic varieties in that, in most root contexts, the verb cannot appear clause-initially as in (6a). Note that the *V1 restriction is stricter in Basque than Germanic in that, in Basque, verb-initial patterns are unavailable even in *yes/no* questions, as in (6c).

- (6) a. *dator-Ø emakume-a. b. Emakume-a dator-Ø. c. *dator-Ø emakume-a?
 come-3SG woman-ABS woman-ABS come-3SG come-3SG woman-ABS
 ‘The woman is coming.’ ‘The woman is coming.’ ‘As for Jon, he’s coming.’

Like these Germanic varieties, Basque also makes an exception for some kinds of imperative sentences like those in (7)–(9) where an inflected imperative form appears in first position.¹ Such sentences are reminiscent of Germanic, where verbs may appear in initial position in imperative

¹The availability of clause-initial imperatives in Basque, however, is restricted to intransitive forms; transitive forms are sharply out. We set these issues aside here.

contexts with an overt subject (see (4) above).²

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| (7) Zaude isilik!
Be.2SG quiet
'Be quiet!' | (8) Zatoz gurekin!
Come.2SG we-with
'Come with us' | (9) Zoaz hemen-dik.
Go.2SG here-ABL
'Get out of here.' |
|--|--|--|

Similarly, as in Germanic, hanging topics do not count as first position elements. As shown in (10) a finite verb cannot be separated from the left edge of the clause only by a hanging topic.

- (10) Jon-Ø, *dator-Ø
Jon-ABS come-3SG
'As for Jon, he's coming.'

Importantly, however Basque differs from Germanic V2 patterns in that in many contexts including neutral declaratives, the finite verb appears sentence finally, as in (11), in a position most generative approaches have taken to be below the C-field (Laka 1990, Ortiz de Urbina 1989, 1994, Elordieta 2001).

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|---|--------------------|
| (11) Jon-ek Miren-i liburua-Ø eman dio .
Jon-ERG Miren-DAT book-ABS give.PERF AUX
'Jon has given the book to Miren.' | (Neutral contexts) |
|---|--------------------|

From this perspective, Basque seems not to be a V2 language but rather a "V_{≥2}" language; that is, the finite verb in declarative root clauses need not appear in strictly second position, but cannot appear clause-initially. We return to this fact in section 3, where we consider evidence for the position of the finite verb in sentences like (11).

2.2 Different kinds of constituents can occupy the first position

A second way in which Basque behaves like other V2 languages is that it discriminates very little in terms of the type of constituent that can be in first position. Germanic and Breton both allow for constituents of different categorial and information structural types to serve as first position elements. (For space reasons we omit discussion of these well-studied Germanic/Breton facts here and refer readers to Holmberg (to appear) and Jouitteau (2010, 2008) for details.)

Basque is similarly permissive in terms of the type of constituents that can sit in first position. In the general case, new-information foci and *wh*-phrases in Basque appear to the left of the inflected verb, and such constituents may also serve as first position elements. The examples in (12) illustrate this with *etorri*, 'come', one of a closed class of synthetic verbs where the verb root and tense and agreement morphology appear on the same word. The examples show that, in such contexts, DPs, adverbials and PPs are all licit first-position elements.

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|--|--|---|
| (12) a.GAUR dator-Ø Jon-Ø.
today come-3SG Jon-ABS
'Jon is coming TODAY.' | b.JON-Ø dator-Ø gaur.
Jon-ABS come-3SG today.
'JON is coming today.' | c.KOTXE-AN dator-Ø Jon-Ø.
Car-in come-3SG Jon-ABS
'Jon is coming IN THE CAR.' |
|--|--|---|

With an open class of verbs, the verb root and any aspectual morphemes appear separated from tense and agreement morphology, which appear instead on an auxiliary verb. In affirmative contexts, the verb root appears to the left of the auxiliary, and can serve as the first position element, as illustrated in (13). Focused constituents appear to the left of the verb root in affirmative contexts as shown in (14).

² A second exception is found in the speech of some (especially younger) speakers, who allow for finite-verb-initial patterns in presentational contexts, where a heavy intonational break obligatorily appears between the finite verb and the following material. We set these cases aside in the remaining discussion.

- (13) Hasi-ko da.
start-FUT AUX.
'It's going to start.'
- (14) BOST-ET-AN hasi-ko da.
Five-PL-in start-FUT AUX.
'It's going to start AT FIVE.'

In negative contexts with no focused XP, the negative morpheme, *ez*, appears to the left of the inflected synthetic verb or auxiliary, as illustrated in (15) and (16), which show that *ez* may also serve as a first position element. In addition, in verum focus contexts, an element *ba-*, historically related to the freestanding 'yes' morpheme, *bai*, can appear to left to the verb and may serve as a first position element as in (17) (Laka 1990).

- (15) Ez dator-Ø.
NEG come-3SG
'(She) is not coming.'
- (16) Ez du bazkaldu
NEG AUX lunch-PERF
'(She) hasn't had lunch.'
- (17) Ba-dator-Ø.
AFF-come-3SG
'She IS coming.'

In negative focalization contexts, the focused constituent appears to the left of *ez*.

- (18) JON-EK/NOR-K ez du bazkaldu behar./?
Jon-ERG/who-ERG NEG AUX lunch need
'Jon/who doesn't need to have lunch./?'

Among elements that *cannot* be first-position elements are hanging topics, as shown above in (10), as well as a class of particles that may appear to the left of the finite verb. These include the *yes/no* question particle *al*, the evidential particle *omen*, and dubitative *ote* (Ortiz de Urbina 1994).

- (19) a. *Al dator-Ø? b. *Omen dator-Ø. c. *Ote dator-Ø?
PRT come-3SG PRT come-3SG PRT come-3SG
'Is she coming?' 'She is allegedly coming.' 'Is she by chance coming?'

Finally, as Ortiz de Urbina (1994) notes, all of the *V1-violating contexts described above can be repaired by "*ba* support"—insertion of a *ba*-morpheme to the left of the inflected verb and any preverbal particles. We illustrate this in (20a-c) which show repair of *V1 violations via *ba*-insertion in contexts with a bare inflected verb, particle *omen*, and a preverbal topic, respectively. Note, crucially, that in these contexts *ba-* need not have a verum focus interpretation.

- (20) a. Ba-dauzkat hiru anaia b. Ba omen dator-Ø. c. Jon-Ø, ba-dator-Ø.
ba-have.1SG3PL three brother ba EVID come-3SG Jon-ABS ba-come-3SG
'I have three brothers.' 'She is allegedly coming' 'As for Jon, he is coming'
(no verum focus reading)

Ortiz de Urbina (1994) treats *ba*-support as a last resort phenomenon to satisfy a lexicalization requirement on the finite verb. As Ortiz de Urbina notes, where this non-verum-focus *ba-* is not needed, it cannot appear. That is, where another first position element is available, *ba-* cannot be inserted without a verum focus interpretation as shown in (21)-(22). We will follow Ortiz de Urbina in treating this as an expletive element in the account developed below.³

- (21) *JON-Ø. ba-dator-Ø.
JON-ABS ba-come-3SG
'JON is coming.' (no verum focus)
- (22) *ez ba-dator-Ø.
NEG ba-come-3SG
'She is coming.'

2.3 Restriction relaxed in embedded clauses

A third way in which the Basque facts resemble those reported for some Germanic varieties is that the relevant word order restrictions are typically stricter in root contexts than in embedded clauses.

³See Elordieta & Jouisseau (2010) for a somewhat different approach to expletive insertion in Basque and Breton.

Example (23) illustrates the fact that in complement clauses in German with an overt complementizer, the finite verb appears not in second position, but rather, typically clause-finally. Other Germanic varieties, including Swedish, allow for V2 in some kinds of complement clauses as illustrated in (24) from Swedish (Heycock 2006, Julien 2008).

- (23) Sigrid glaubt dass [Waltraud (***hat**) wahrscheinlich das Buch gekauft **hat**.] (German)
 Sigrid thinks that Waltraud has probably the book bought has
 ‘Sigrid thinks that Waltraud has probably bought the book.’
 (adapted from Diesing 1990)
- (24) Jag ska säga dej **att** jag är inte ett dugg intresserad. (Swedish, from Julien 2008)
 I will say you that I am not a dew interested
 ‘I tell you that I am not the least interested.’

Similarly, (25)–(27) show that in Basque relative clauses, adverbial clauses and factive complements, unlike in root clauses, *V1 does not apply: the verb can appear clause-initially and *ba*-insertion is unavailable.

- (25) [(**Ba*)-datorr-en] astea-Ø.
ba-come-COMP week-ABS
 ‘the coming week’ (without verum focus)
- (26) [(**Ba*)-dirudi-en]-ez, etorri-ko da.
ba-appear-COMP-as, come-FUT AUX
 ‘It appears he/she will come.’ (lit. ‘As it appears, he will not come.’ without verum focus)
- (27) Jakin/ahaz-tu dut [(**ba*)-datorr-ela]
 know.PRFX/forget-PRFX AUX *ba*-come-COMP
 ‘I’ve found out/forgotten that (s)he is coming.’ (without verum focus)

In complements of saying/belief verbs such as (28), and embedded *yes/no* questions such as (29), finite verbs in initial position are also possible, though as Ortiz de Urbina (1994) notes, many speakers also accept such sentences with non-verum *ba*-.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(28) Ba-daki-t [datorr-ela]
 <i>ba</i>-know-1SG come-COMP
 ‘I know that he is coming.’
 (Ortiz de Urbina 1994)</p> | <p>(29) Ez daki-t [datorr-en ala ez.]
 NEG know-1SG come-COMP or NEG
 ‘I don’t know whether she’s coming or not.’</p> |
|---|---|

To summarize the discussion so far, the restrictions on verb-initial patterns in Basque are reminiscent of Germanic and Celtic V2. In the next section we model this partial similarity in terms of the EPP+verb raising approach to V2 discussed above (2).

3 V_{≥2} patterns in Basque

Following Chomsky (2000) and Roberts (2004), our analysis of V_{≥2} will be in terms of the approach summarized in (2). Again, on this approach, V2 reflects the interaction of two properties: (i) an EPP feature on a C-field head which attracts the nearest satellite XP (i.e. XP not in the clausal spine); and (ii) a [*uV*] feature on this same head which attracts the inflected verb. In this section and the next, we propose that Basque shares with canonical V2 varieties the first of these properties but lacks the second. That is, Basque lacks verb movement to the left periphery in neutral declaratives. We consider evidence for these two assumptions in turn below.

3.1 EPP movement to C

The inventory of possible first-position elements in root clauses discussed in section 2 will follow from the sequence of left-peripheral heads illustrated in (30) together with the assumption of an EPP feature on a Speech-Act-field head which we agnostically label W. In Haddican and Elordieta (in preparation), we assess evidence for associating W with speech act pragmatic fea-

tures based on the interaction of *V1 and addressee agreement in some Basque dialects, which is also generally restricted to root clauses (Oyharçabal 1993). Space constraints prevent us from considering these issues in detail here.

(30) [Top* [W_[EPP] [Foc [Pol [Evid [T....]]]]]]

The sequence of heads in (30) follows much previous work in Basque and especially Ortiz de Urbina's work (1999) in assuming a Rizgian articulated left-periphery for finite clauses (Rizzi 1997, Beninca and Poletto 2004, Haegeman 2006). Most importantly, following Rizzi (1997), we assume that the pragmatics of illocutionary force and utterance main point is encoded in a sequence of left peripheral heads, one of which will be W (Haegeman 2006, Julien 2008). Root clauses will differ minimally from most embedded clauses in that the former will have this layer, but the latter will not, and it will be this difference that accounts for the absence of *V1 effects in embedded clauses. We assume, in particular, that this head has an EPP feature that attracts, without prejudice, the closest XP in the clausal spine to its specifier position. It is this feature that will ensure that the finite verb never appears clause-initially in root contexts. Finally, we assume that focused constituents including *wh*-phrases have a FOCUS feature and move to the spec of FocP (Ortiz de Urbina 1999, Elordieta 2001). We also posit a polarity head, Pol, in whose spec sit the negative morpheme, *ez*, and affirmative *ba*- (Haddican 2004, Arteatz 2011, cf. Laka 1990).⁴

We illustrate now how these assumptions combine to produce the correct word order in relevant contexts. First, consider the negative example in (15), repeated here. In this context, the negative morpheme *ez* will be the closest element to W and will be attracted to spec, WP.

(15) Ez dator-Ø.
NEG come-3SG
'(She) is not coming.'
(31) [WP *ez* W_[EPP] [PolP <*ez*> Pol [TP *dator*]]]

The derivation of clause-initial focus sentences will proceed similarly. Consider, for example, the sentence in (12b), repeated here. When Foc is merged, the FOCUS-bearing constituent *Jon*, moves to the spec of FocP. W is merged later and *Jon* then moves its spec, as in (32).

(12) b. JON-Ø dator-Ø gaur.
Jon-ABS come-3SG today
'JON is coming today.'
(32) [WP *JON*_[Focus] W_[EPP] [FocP <*JON*> Foc [TP *dator* ... <*JON*>]]]

In verum focus contexts such as (17), repeated here, we assume that *ba* is first merged in spec, PolP, and raises in turn to FocP, and subsequently to spec, W.

(17) Ba-dator-Ø.
AFF-come-3SG
'She IS coming.'
(33) [WP *ba*_[Focus] W_[EPP] [FocP <*ba*> Foc [PolP <*ba*> Pol [TP *dator* ... <*JON*>]]]]

In the spirit of Ortiz de Urbina's (1994) proposal, we assume that *ba*-support—expletive insertion of *ba*, when *V1 would otherwise be violated, is the spell out of W in the absence of other lexical material. Consider, for example the sentence in (20), repeated here.

(20) Badauzkat hiru anaia
ba-have-1SG3PL three brother
'I have three brothers.' (no verum focus interpretation.)

⁴Haddican (2004) argues that the negative morpheme raises to PolP from a TP-internal position. For space reasons we set aside the motivation for this assumption here.

The object DP has neither a topic nor a focus interpretation and therefore does not raise to one of the left peripheral positions in (30), but rather stays inside vP. Assume, furthermore, that *v* is a phase head (Chomsky 2008). This will have as a consequence that the object inside vP will be trapped in the lower position and will not be able to be probed by the EPP feature in *W*. The EPP feature will therefore go unsatisfied, and *ba* will be spelled out in this position instead.

The inability of preverbal particles to serve as first position elements on this approach is explained as a consequence of the fact that they are heads, and as such, cannot move as phrases to spec, WP. Similarly, the fact that the Topic position is merged above *W* will account for the fact that topics cannot be first position elements. Specifically, on the assumptions just introduced, a topic may be attracted to spec, WP, but will subsequently raise to TopP, when this layer is merged. At PF, after chain reduction, spec WP will be vacant and *ba-* will be inserted.⁵

3.2 The tense-bearing verb does not raise to *W*

We turn now to the second property of standard approaches to V2, namely verb movement to the same C-field head hosting an EPP feature. In particular, we consider two approaches to clause structure in recent literature on Basque and, without deciding between these approaches, conclude that, on neither of these approaches is Basque usefully analyzed as having finite verb movement to the C-field in neutral declaratives, unlike in canonical V2 languages.

With regard to the position of heads, Basque is a mixed language: heads in the clausal spine below *T* appear to the right of their complements, while heads above *T*, including preverbal speech act and evidential particles and polarity morphemes appear to the left of their complements (de Rijk 1969, Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Laka 1990, Elordieta 2001, 2008). Most generative approaches to Basque have modeled these facts in terms of a head-directionality parameter: heads including *T* and below take their complements to the left and those above *T* take their complements to the right. The head-final nature of TP-internal projections, on this approach, correctly expresses the fact that in neutral declarative sentences like (11), the finite verb, which moves to *T*, appears sentence finally.

The relative order of the tense-bearing auxiliary and extended verbal shell is sensitive to sentence polarity. In affirmative sentences with analytic verbs such as (11), the verb and verbal dependents appear to the left of the finite auxiliary (VP-Aux). In negative sentences, the negative morpheme, *ez*, appears left-adjacent to the inflected verb; the verb and non-focused, non-topicalized verbal dependents appear to the right of these (Neg-Aux-VP):

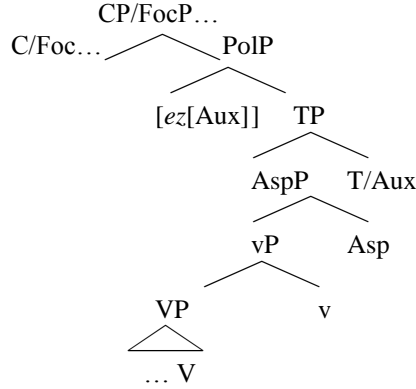
- (34) Miren-ek ez du Jon-Ø ikus-i (Negative contexts)
 Miren-ERG NEG AUX Jon-ABS see-PERF
 ‘Miren hasn’t seen Jon.’

Laka (1990) and Elordieta (2001, 2008) propose that these polarity effects reflect the fact that negation –which is head-initial on this approach– is first-merged outside TP in Basque, and that the inflected verb must head adjoin to negation as a way of providing lexical support for the clitic-like auxiliary. The Neg-Aux word order requires that this be right head adjunction as shown in (35). In affirmative sentences, Neg is not merged, and the auxiliary stays in its first-merged position in *T*.⁶ From the perspective of this mixed headed structure, it follows that Basque cannot have T-to-C movement in affirmative neutral declaratives, since if it did, the auxiliary would appear to the left of the constituent containing the verb root and verbal dependents rather than to the right.

⁵We set aside the derivation of verb-initial patterns in imperatives discussed above. The transitivity restrictions noted in footnote 1, indicate that additional properties are relevant to these sentences which we do not currently understand.

⁶Additional assumptions are required to derive the adjacency between focused constituents and the inflected verb in focus contexts like (14). Ortiz de Urbina (1989, 1994) proposes that Basque is a “residual V2” language, that is, the verb raises to *C* only in certain clause types, including focus constructions. We set aside these facts here and focus on neutral declaratives, which are the crucial point of comparison with Germanic/Breton.

(35) The head parameter approach



An alternative, LCA-based approach to Basque clause structure, leads to the same conclusion, as we will argue next. Specifically, Haddican (2004) proposes that the relative order of the verb and verbal dependents is derived via roll-up (iterative comp-to-spec) movement (Kayne 1994). On this approach the polarity-sensitive word order variation in (11) and (34) is determined by the constituent that raises to a left-peripheral PolP: in negative sentences, the negative morpheme *ez*, a specifier, raises to PolP, yielding the order Neg-Aux-VP.; in affirmative sentences, the extended verbal shell raises yielding the order [[SOV] Aux] (see also Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2009).

(36) An LCA-compliant approach to polarity-sensitive word order alternations.

- a. [_{WP} ... [_{PolP} [_{XP} extended verbal shell] Pol [_{TP} Aux <XP>]]] (Affirmative orders)
 b. [_{WP} ... [_{PolP} *ez* Pol [_{TP} Aux [_{XP} extended verbal shell]]]] (Negative orders)

Now, given (30), the EPP feature of *W* will trigger movement of negation or the extended verbal shell to Spec,*W*. This analysis in principle allows for the possibility that the tense-bearing verb also moves further to the same projection containing the EPP, that is, that the raised verb is in a spec-head configuration with the first position element, just as in Germanic/Celtic, etc. We illustrate this possible derivation in (37).

(37) [_{WP} *ez*/[_{XP} verbal shell] [_{W'} Aux+*W*_{[uV, EPP] [...<*ez*><XP>]]]}

An obstacle to such an approach concerns the kind of material that can intervene between the tense-bearing verb and foci. Consider, for example, a sentence with a focused *XP* and a verb cluster containing a modal *behar*, ‘need’.

(38) JON-Ø etorri behar da.
 Jon-ABS come need AUX
 ‘JON must come.’

We know from previous discussion (section 2) that the focused constituent, *Jon*, counts as the first position constituent. Evidence that the focused *XP* does not form a constituent with the verb+modal distinct from the auxiliary, i.e. that it does not pied-pipe the verb+modal, comes from the fact that it can never do so in negative contexts such as (18). The verb+modal complex, unlike the focused constituent, *Jon*, therefore appears to be not within spec,*WP*, but below it. Now, for the tense-bearing auxiliary, *da*, to be in *W*, in a spec-head configuration with *Jon*, the verb root+modal will need to be a head adjunction cluster, itself adjoined to the auxiliary. But such verb clusters show word order variation that is unexpected if the main verb head-adjoints to the modal. In particular, as Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2009) note, in many central dialects the constituent containing the verb and verbal dependents in such constructions —particularly phonetically heavy ones— can appear either to the right or to the left of the modal+auxiliary cluster, as illustrated in (40). Assuming following Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2009), that the two orders

in (40) are derivationally related via some phrasal movement step —leftward movement of the [modal+aux] in (40b), for example— then the verb+modal sequence cannot be a head adjunction cluster, since otherwise the movement operation would target a non-constituent.

- (39) a. [Horr-ela-ko-a-k maiz-ago ikusi] nahi nituzke
 that-like-GEN-DEF-PL frequent-more see want AUX
 ‘I’d like to see things like that more often.’
 b. Nahi nituzke [horr-ela-ko-a-k maiz-ago ikusi]
 want AUX that-like-GEN-DEF-PL frequent-more see
 ‘I’d like to see things like that more often.’
 (Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2009)

A similar problem concerns the ability of negation and evidential particles to intervene between the tensed verb and the first position element. Consider, for example, the example in (40) with a focused subject, a negative morpheme and an evidential particle.

- (40) JON-Ø ez omen da etorr-i.
 Jon-ABS NEG EVID AUX come-PRF.
 ‘JON has allegedly not come.’

Again, here the focused constituent, *Jon*, must count as the first position constituent. For the tense-bearing verb to move to W, the auxiliary would need to have right-adjoined to *ez* —necessarily a specifier on this approach— and *omen* —a head— on its way to W, as shown in (41). This approach must then answer for the enrichment to the theory necessary to make possible head-specifier-head adjunction and explain why right-head adjunction obtains in just these cases.

- (41) [_{WP} JON_[Focus] W-Foc-ez-omen-Aux_{[FocP} <JON> <Foc> [_{PolP} <ez> <Pol> [_{EvidP} <omen> [_{TP} <Aux> ... *etorri*]]]]]

To summarize, the foregoing discussion suggests that, no matter which of these two main approaches one adopts to the derivation of clausal word orders in Basque, Basque does not plausibly have verb movement to the same left-peripheral head responsible for *V1 effects.

4 Conclusion

We have argued that Basque instantiates a typological prediction of the most widely assumed theory of V2, namely that V2 is a conspiracy of an EPP feature on a C-field head and a verb raising feature on this same head. General considerations lead us to expect that these two features will vary independently across languages. If so, we expect the possibility of a language with EPP movement to the left periphery but not verb movement. We argue that this combination of properties fits the V_{≥2} pattern of Basque root clauses. If indeed these properties vary independently across languages, we expect a larger set of languages to instantiate this typological possibility, and we know of no others so described in the literature. Future work might usefully address this prediction.

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